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ABSTRACT

This study examined the possibility that the large racial differences in income are partly the result of blacks and whites holding jobs in different Holland Fields of work, some of which might pay much better than others. Data from the 1970 U.S. census were used to determine the mean income of 27,067 white men aged 26-65 grouped by educational level and by Holland type of work and to determine the proportion of white and black men aged 36-65 falling within each of these educational and type-of-work groups. Enterprising work was found to provide higher incomes with less education than do other types of work. Although a large proportion of white men at all educational levels hold enterprising jobs, relatively few blacks were found in this type of work. Counselors and educators have traditionally tried to reduce the income gap between blacks and whites by increasing college attendance among blacks. These findings suggest that counselors also can help black youth find better-paying jobs by providing them more access to enterprising work. Such programs might be especially helpful to black high school students who will not be attending college. (Author)

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Providing Black Youth More Access to Enterprising Work

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Running head: Black Youth

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Abstract

This study examined the possibility that the large racial differences in income are partly the result of blacks and whites holding jobs in different Holland fields of work, some of which might pay much better than others. Data from the 1970 U.S. census were used to determine the mean income of 27,067 white men aged 26-65 grouped by educational level and by Holland type of work and to determine the proportion of white and black men aged 36-65 falling within each of these educational and type-of-work groups. Enterprising work was found to provide higher incomes with less education than do other types of work. Although a large proportion of white men at all educational levels hold enterprising jobs, relatively few blacks were found in this type of work. Counselors and educators have traditionally tried to reduce the income gap between blacks and whites by increasing college attendance among blacks. These findings suggest that counselors also can help black youth find better-paying jobs by providing them more access to enterprising work. Such programs might be especially helpful to black high school students who will not be attending college.

Providing Black Youth More Access to Enterprising Work

During the last three decades, black men have earned on the average only 50% to 70% as much as white men in comparable age and educational groups (Freeman, 1973). This difference in income is largely the result of blacks holding poorer jobs than do whites. Efforts by counselors or educators to help blacks get better jobs have focused on increasing years of schooling and promoting entry into college. This strategy reflects the traditional belief that education is the road to upward social mobility. But there are problems with this strategy for improving the economic well being of blacks, one simply being that many blacks cannot afford to postpone earning a living.

In this paper I suggest another strategy for counselors that may more directly promote the economic advancement of the black community. Specifically, I summarize evidence that (a) one job family--sales, management, and other enterprising work--provides high income with less education than do most other job families, (b) this job family constitutes a large source of employment for white men, and (c) black men are grossly underrepresented in this job family even at the lowest educational levels. This evidence suggests that counselors might attempt to develop more programs to expose black youth to information about and experience in enterprising settings and to do more research on the obstacles to black entry into this kind of work.

Method

In order to examine the economic consequences of entering one type of work rather than another, mean incomes for white men in different

occupational, educational, and age groups were determined. The proportion of white men and black men in different categories of work was also determined in order to see how income differences by type of work might affect overall racial differences in income.

Data for 1,524 black and 27,067 white men aged 26-65 and employed full time (35 hours or more per week) in civilian, non-farm jobs were obtained from a stratified 1/1000 sample from the 1970 U.S. census of population. All men were classified into one of six broad categories according to Holland's (1973) classification of occupations: realistic, investigative, artistic, social, enterprising, and conventional. Men were also grouped into one of five educational categories according to years of education completed: 8 or fewer, 9-11, 12, 13-15, or 16 or more years. Men with 12 years of education presumably have completed high school and those with 16 or more years have graduated from college.

The mean incomes of white men in different educational, occupational, and age groups were calculated. Mean income for black men and for men in artistic work were not computed because there few such men in many of the groups in the sample.

The sample of white men used here is large, so statistically significant income differences would be expected even for small differences and therefore would be of little interest. The assumptions necessary for performing tests of significance are not met because the original census sample was constructed according to a stratified cluster design. In addition, the best evidence for the substantive significance of income differences among the categories of work is the consistent variation across age and educational groups. Estimates of confidence

intervals of the means are provided in L. Gottfredson (Note 1).

Results

Table 1 shows mean incomes for white men aged 36-65, an age group in which most men can be assumed to have established stable careers (G. Gottfredson, in press). This table shows the mean incomes for men in different types of work and with different amounts of education. Mean income increases with education in all categories of work, but for given levels of education men earn much more on the average in some categories of work than in others. Incomes seem particularly high for men in enterprising work.

In all but the most highly educated group, men in enterprising work earn from $2,000 to $4,000 more on the average than do men in the other categories. Only the college graduates in investigative work surpass in income the men in enterprising work. College graduates in enterprising and investigative work earn on the average from $5,000 to $9,000 more than the college graduates in other types of work.

Insert Table 1 about here

Table 2 shows more clearly that a higher education is not as important in some types of work as in others for obtaining high incomes. It also shows that the differences are consistent across all age groups. Table 2 gives the ratios of group means to the grand mean income for all 27,067 men in the sample ($10,599). For example, men 26-35 with 12 years of education and who are in realistic work earn a mean income of $8,616. The ratio for this group is therefore .81 as shown in the first row of Table 2. A ratio of 1.00 means that the mean income of a group

of men is equal to the grand mean for all men in the sample.

This table shows that men with less than 12 years of education make from .6 to .9 the average for all men, regardless of their age or type of work. The one exception is men in enterprising work. The ratios for the 26-35 age group are generally below 1.0 unless the men have graduated from college.

Insert Table 2 about here

The educational level at which a ratio of 1.0 is reached differs by category of work. Looking only at the men 36-45, 46-55, and 56-65, men in enterprising work who have 9-11 years of education (and even one of the less educated enterprising groups) have ratios equal to or greater than 1.0. In contrast, the investigative groups reach an average income only with high school graduation, and the groups in the other three categories reach an average income only with one or more years of college. The college graduates in investigative and enterprising work make twice the overall average. In contrast, the college graduates in the social category earn only somewhat more than the average for all men, and no more than high school graduates in enterprising work.

Enterprising jobs are an important segment of the labor market not only because enterprising workers earn relatively high incomes, but also because these jobs constitute a large proportion of all jobs. About one quarter of all white men in the sample were employed in enterprising jobs, only 25% of whom had earned college degrees. In contrast, although investigative jobs also pay well, they constituted only 7% of jobs and half of the workers in these jobs had college degrees.

Table 3 shows the proportions of men in each kind of work; proportions are calculated separately for different educational levels and for blacks and whites. Half of all white men are in realistic work, the proportion decreasing as education increases. One quarter of the white men are in enterprising work, this type of work comprising the largest group of workers with at least one year of college and the second largest among men in general.

Insert Table 3 about here

The distribution of black men is quite different. Only 5% of all blacks are in enterprising work. Whereas almost 20% of white men with 9-11 years of education are in enterprising work, less than 4% of similarly educated blacks are in such work. Employment in enterprising work increases with educational level for white men, and 39% of the white college graduates are in this type of work. In contrast, highly educated black men tend to end up in social occupations. Almost half of the black college graduates are in social occupations as opposed to only 19% of the whites. As Tables 1 and 2 indicate, social jobs have the lowest mean income of all types of work.

Discussion

The source of this racial difference in kinds of work held is not clear. No doubt it is partly the result of past discrimination against blacks. More discrimination may have been directed to black managers, administrators, and salesmen than to black educational, health, religious, and other social service workers. These differences may also be maintained in part by current differences in the types of job activities

and occupational rewards preferred by blacks. Social jobs such as teaching are low-paying but many are prestigious and secure. Managers and salespeople--enterprising workers--have higher average incomes, but their jobs are less prestigious. Blacks more often prefer social jobs than do whites (Nafziger, Holland, Helms, & McPartland, 1974), and black college students have typically chosen education majors at two to three times the rate of whites (Freeman, 1974; Sharp, 1970).

Whatever the reason for the racial difference in jobs held, the implication is clear. Blacks are economically disadvantaged--regardless of educational level--because they are so seldom employed in enterprising work. This racial difference affects not only the incomes of individual workers and the well being of their families, but also the future of black capitalism. It is among entrepreneurs (e.g., managers, salesmen, and business owners) that wealth is created and controlled. It is in the entrepreneurial business setting that successful businessmen are trained and launched on their careers. But few blacks have been systematically exposed to this setting. The educational gap between blacks and whites is closing (Hauser & Featherman, 1976), but if blacks continue to be channeled into or to prefer socially desirable but less economically rewarding work, increased education may produce little growth in the economic strength of the black community.

Income differences by category of work should be examined in more detail to verify that the economic well being of workers does indeed differ substantially by category of work. Other important conditions of work such as job security and income stability should also be examined. These preliminary results have important implications for

counselors, however. They imply that counselors should focus on providing black youngsters more systematic exposure to information, training, and experience in sales, management, and other enterprising work. Such exposure is probably provided to white youngsters primarily through family members actually working in enterprising jobs.

High school counselors might develop programs especially for youngsters who will not be attending college. They should be careful to expose these youngsters to information about enterprising jobs as well as about skilled trades so that blacks are not in effect channeled into realistic work. College counselors, particularly in the two-year community colleges, might develop more work-study programs with local businesses. Providing blacks more experience in and access to entrepreneurial work will require considerable coordination with private businesses because most enterprising work, and probably most training for enterprising jobs, is located in private business.

The appendix is provided to help counselors locate jobs and organizations for potential programs. It lists all detailed occupational titles in the 1970 census which are enterprising occupations. A few occupations on the list are professional jobs which require extensive education--lawyers, judges, and law college teachers. For the other occupations, however, entrepreneurial experience and competencies may be more important than educational credentials.

The appendix also provides the number of all men employed in each occupation in 1970 to indicate which occupations have provided the greatest number of jobs. The Occupational Outlook Handbook (Bureau of

Labor Statistics, 1976) can be consulted to determine future prospects of employment in these occupations.

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Table 1

Mean Income of White Men 36-65: By Education and Type of Work

Type of Work	Years of Education					
	8 or fewer	9-11	12	13-15	16 or more	Total
Real	7,309	8,533	9,325	10,067	14,141	8,674
Inv	7,862	9,372	10,914	12,206	21,946	15,729
Soc	7,301	8,609	9,427	10,464	12,304	10,868
Ent	9,788	11,607	12,599	14,628	20,796	14,623
Conv	7,792	9,154	9,770	10,839	15,360	10,906
Total[a]	7,614	9,169	10,372	12,364	18,123	11,054

[a]Includes men in artistic work.

Table 2

Ratios of the Mean Incomes of Specific Groups to the Grand Mean for All Men: White Men By Age, Education, and Type of Work

Type of Work	Years of Education					
	≤ 8	9-11	12	13-15	16+	Total
			Ages 26-35			
Real	.63	.72	.81	.88	1.12	.79
Inv	.75	.75	.91	.96	1.29	1.10
Soc	a	.69	.84	.70	.87	.84
Ent	.75	.83	.95	1.08	1.32	1.07
Conv	.59	.61	.74	.81	1.05	.84
Total[b]	.65	.74	.84	.95	1.15	.89
			Ages 36-45			
Real	.70	.82	.89	1.01	1.29	.85
Inv	.71	.92	1.00	1.12	1.98	1.50
Soc	.70	.90	.86	.94	1.07	1.00
Ent	.80	1.05	1.14	1.29	1.87	1.35
Conv	.66	.89	.91	.93	1.40	1.02
Total[b]	.71	.87	.96	1.14	1.63	1.06

Table 2--Continued

Type of Work	Years of Education					
	≤ 8	9-11	12	13-15	16+	Total
			Ages 46-55			
Real	.69	.81	.90	.95	1.48	.83
Inv	.72	.86	1.05	1.25	2.19	1.51
Soc	.65	.71	.91	1.04	1.29	1.06
Ent	1.00	1.10	1.24	1.45	2.03	1.42
Conv	.82	.88	.95	1.11	1.55	1.07
Total[b]	.73	.86	1.01	1.22	1.82	1.07
			Ages 56-65			
Real	.68	.78	.82	.81	1.16	.76
Inv	.78	.87	1.08	1.06	2.14	1.39
Soc	.72	.90	.90	.98	1.20	1.02
Ent	.93	1.15	1.19	1.43	2.09	1.35
Conv	.72	.83	.91	1.08	1.40	.97
Total[b]	.71	.87	.96	1.14	1.73	.97

[a]Fewer than 10 cases.

[b]Includes men in artistic work.

Table 3

Percentage of Men Aged 36-65 in Each Type of Work:

By Race and Educational Level

Type of Work	Years of Education					
	≤8	9-11	12	13-15	16+	Total
Whites						
Real	82.0	70.5	55.2	31.8	10.2	53.8
Inv	3.4	3.7	5.1	8.1	20.8	7.4
Art	0.2	0.6	1.4	2.8	4.0	1.6
Soc	1.9	2.7	3.7	5.1	19.2	5.8
Ent	10.6	18.4	27.6	41.8	38.6	25.6
Conv	2.0	4.0	7.0	10.4	7.2	5.8
(N)	(4040)	(3892)	(5951)	(2239)	(3164)	(19286)
Blacks						
Real	92.0	89.2	72.9	50.0	15.6	81.0
Inv	0.8	0.6	3.8	6.4	12.2	2.3
Art	--	--	0.8	2.1	4.4	0.5
Soc	2.2	2.6	6.1	13.8	46.7	6.3
Ent	3.7	3.7	8.0	10.6	12.2	5.4
Conv	1.2	4.0	8.4	17.0	8.9	4.5
(N)	(727)	(351)	(262)	(94)	(90)	(1524)

Appendix

Enterprising Occupations

This appendix lists all detailed occupational titles in the 1970 census which are classified as enterprising occupations in Holland's (1973) scheme. The occupations are listed in descending order of occupational prestige. The number of men employed in each occupation is also provided (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1973: pp. 585-592).

See L. Gottfredson (Note 1) for an explanation of how census titles were classified by Holland code and occupational prestige and for a list of detailed titles in all Holland categories of work together with their three-letter Holland codes and occupational prestige scores.

Occupational title	Number of Men in Occupation in 1970
Judges	12,281
Law college teachers	2,808
Lawyers	251,225
Stock and bond salesmen	89,649
Industrial engineers	185,389
Managers, durable goods manufacturing; salaried	360,483
Finance, insurance and real estate managers; salaried	131,286
Managers, nondurable goods manufacturing; salaried	254,863
Sales managers, except retail trade	245,741
Managers, all other industries; salaried	169,584
Bank officers and finance managers	258,709
Real estate appraisers	21,550
Personnel and labor relations workers	200,950
Finance, insurance and real estate managers; self employed	20,393
Office managers, n.e.c.	129,097
Communications, utilities and sanitary services managers; salaried	90,608
Insurance adjusters, examiners and investigators	71,626
Business and repair services managers; salaried	110,569
Officers and administrators, public administration	194,645
Wholesale trade managers; salaried	214,289
Construction managers; self employed	234,925
Transportation managers; salaried	116,052

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Buyers, wholesale and retail trade	125,631
Retail managers, furniture; salaried	36,123
Wholesale trade managers; self employed	52,088
Insurance agents, brokers and underwriters	401,910
Purchasing agents and buyers, n.e.c.	140,076
Managers, nondurable goods manufacturing; self employed	24,580
Retail managers, apparel; salaried	38,247
Managers, durable goods manufacturing	35,945
Postmasters and mail superintendants	23,964
Buyers and shippers, farm products	20,196
Radio and TV announcers	20,361
Retail managers, general merchandise; salaried	74,688
Managers, all other industries; self-employed	32,588
Retail managers, hardware; salaried	47,283
Sales managers and department heads, retail trade	160,848
Retail managers, motor vehicle; salaried	95,607
Real estate agents and brokers	176,967
Retail managers, other retail; salaried	92,549
Retail managers, apparel; self employed	14,445
Sales representatives, manufacturing industries	378,659
Retail managers, motor vehicles; self employed	23,643
Business and repair services managers; self employed	45,851
Retail managers, furniture; self employed	23,448
Retail managers, food stores; salaried	121,903
Personal services managers; salaried	60,359
Retail managers, hardware; self employed	26,868
Retail managers, general merchandise; self employed	15,934
Construction managers, salaried	137,494

Transportation managers, self employed	18,367
Airline stewardesses	1,300
Retail managers, other retail; self employed	60,859
Restaurant, cafe, and bar managers	213,572
Sales representatives, wholesale trade	595,690
Communications, utilities, and sanitary services managers; self employed	2,031
Personal services managers; self employed	47,114
Salesmen of services and construction	149,378
Salesmen, retail trade	397,222
Retail managers, food stores; self employed	84,545
Farm managers	57,951
Retail managers, gas stations; self employed	96,902
Retail managers, gas station; salaried	63,142
Auctioneers	4,966
Dispatchers and starters, vehicle	49,109
Boarding and lodging house keepers	1,972
Sales clerks, retail trade	797,474
Deliverymen and routemen	591,866
Demonstrators	3,675
Hucksters and peddlers	25,341
Newsboys	53,733